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Attempts to bring exchange to parity or to create international securities of any kind are open to the objection that they involve an element of inflation and that they practically open the gates of credit from the United States without regard to risk, to how its purpose affects us, or whether it really benefits the borrower. Loans from our government direct to foreign governments or foreign merchants have a hundred objections and disagreeable entanglements which we learned well enough during the war. In all this maze of difficulty and the unsettlement over credits and debts, I would sum up that wisdom consists in knowing what to do next rather than in debates upon perfection.

As necessary as the continued establishment of foreign credits is, if we are to maintain our large volume of export trade, we should not overestimate the amount needed for legitimate trade, for refinance, and for reconstruction purposes. The amount is not so great as popularly supposed and will annually decline. I believe all trading States of consequence in the world can even now finance their imports of food supplies. The stronger of them can finance their imports of raw materials. We are, indeed, importing very much larger quantities of tropical produce than before the war, and our own consumption of these commodities will continue to grow. The margin of credits needed beyond our imports in order to keep commerce alive for the present are, first, comparatively short-term amounts to cover part of our exports of raw materials and the distribution period of our manufactured goods; and, second, constant refinance of debts or interest already owed to us.

In summary, on the production and marketing side of our commerce, we can say that our food exports should remain on a greatly enlarged scale; that the demand for our raw materials should slowly increase toward pre-war amounts; that in respect to our manufactures we should be able to hold special fields of repetitive production and ingenuity; that we will need to make a fight to hold the markets for manufactured goods where we come more directly into competition with the European manufacturer, but that we can do it if we will work and apply our brains to it. On the financial side of our situation I do not believe our world credit situation is at all so unsurmountable or that it requires extraordinary solutions.

I may repeat that we need to realize above all things that, even if we lower our vision of civilization in this crisis solely to that of our own selfish economic interest, we are mightily concerned in the recuperation of the entire world. There is an economic interdependence in the world that recognizes no national boundaries. The greatest jeopardy to the standard of living of our people is the lowered standards of Europe. Now that we have become a great creditor nation, we must learn that this great debt must be wisely directed, so that we do not stifle both our own growth and the growth of others.

There are, indeed, many complexities arising out of our great expansion of productive power and our suddenly born creditor position. I do not need to say that we are confronted with a hundred difficulties, that we must be alert to steer our commercial policies against the winds of the world in an economic storm. We are suffering greatly in this immediate world-wide indus-

trial depression. This depression is partly due to the war; it is partly due to our post-war boom, with its speculation, its extravagance, and its slackening of efficiency. The government can help recovery by removing the obstructions to commerce and industry. But, when all is done, the real cure for all depression is courage and applied intelligence and the return to primary virtues of hard, conscientious toil, and economy in living. On every side there is evidence that the vast majority of our whole nation is making again an effort in those directions equaled only by that of 1918, and the day, some months ago, when we entered this effort we fundamentally turned the corner of this depression. While our recovery may be slower than some expect, nothing can prevent the prosperity of a country where the people have enlightenment, where they wish to work, wish to produce, and wish to do right by their neighbors.

We are not a nation of machines and houses, factories, and railways; we are a nation of men, women, and children. Our industrial system and our commerce are simply implements for their comfort and happiness. When we deal with those great problems of business and economics we must be inspired by the knowledge that we are increasing and defending the standards of living of all our people. Upon this soil grow those moral and intellectual forces that make our nation great.

INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION IN THE SOUTH

By JOHN WHITE, Jr.

IN THESE DAYS, when scarcely a week passes that one does not read of mob violence from the new Ku Klux Klan, so called, in which the victim often is a negro, when one reads from time to time of lynchings at the hands of unorganized mobs, in which the victim nearly always is a negro, and when one still ponders upon the terrible revelations that followed investigation of the peonage farm in Georgia, the question often is asked, Where is the intelligence and character of the South?

Well-informed men and women in other parts of this country, thinking back to the days when Southern statesmen molded the affairs of the nation, or recalling the truly marvelous progress made under incalculable handicaps in commercial and industrial fields in later days, with marked stimulation of educational endeavor, wonder how it can be—that is, those not obsessed with hatred of the South do—that in a land producing such capacities there could be and are such dread occurrences.

This article is to be no apology for the South. Rather, it is to be an attempt—it must be an inadequate attempt—to picture the problem of the South as it has developed in the last generation and as it has been grappled with.

First, if you please, remember that the existence, side by side, in great numbers of two widely different races is an anomaly in our modern civilization. Merely to state that is to state, for all thoughtful men, a social problem of vast dimensions. Next, remember that one of these races is but a century or two from a barbarism that reaches back into the dimmest recesses of time, and that it is still only a little more than a half century

from slavery. (No need to go into responsibility for that slavery; we are dealing here with a fact and a problem that affects human beings in this day of grace one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one and not with an ancient question of moral responsibility.) And, finally, remember that, with the passing of slavery, there soon passed much of the old-time feudal system on the plantations, which had a certain virtue under a given condition, and that parallel with the passing of the feudal system in many places in the South, there came the rise of modern industrialism, tending to identify man by a number, and to destroy the good old rule of *noblesse oblige* between the successful managing white man and the ignorant negro, so lately withdrawn from the densities of Africa.

You have before you a poor picture, but a picture, nevertheless, of a problem of infinite possibilities for evil—a problem that in another land might well mean actual warfare and a grim purpose of extermination. Two great masses of people—one from the race that has led the world, the other from a bottom race; the passing of the old-fashioned master and servant relation and the rise, in a considerable measure, of that industrialism which has led to bitter strife and outlawry, where there was no such difference in races and where those at both ends of the industrial order sprang from white races with many generations of civilization behind them.

Now, at this point, remember that there is no escaping the problem. Bear in mind the words of Henry W. Grady, one of the great figures of post-bellum South, conciliator, far-seeing lover of his people, American patriot:

But the future holds a problem, in solving which the South must stand alone; in dealing with which she must come closer together than ambition or despair have driven her, and on the outcome of which her very existence depends. This problem is to carry within her body politic two separate races, and nearly equal in numbers. She must carry these races in peace—for discord means ruin. She must carry them separately—for assimilation means debasement. She must carry them in equal justice—for to this she is pledged in honor and in gratitude. She must carry them even unto the end, for in human probability she will never be quit of either.

This burden no other people bears today—on none hath it ever rested. Without precedent or companionship, the South must bear this problem, the awful responsibility of which should win the sympathy of all human kind and the protecting watchfulness of God—alone, even unto the end.

Keeping all of this in mind, let the reader ask himself if it is strange that crimes are committed and that direful vengeance is had. Here are millions of people of the two races. In the one race—the one just around the corner from Africa, as days are counted in the upward movement of peoples—there must be a percentage of evil men. The habitual restraints of the old days are gone in many places, and it follows that crimes of unspeakable character are committed by these evil men. In the other race—the upper race—there is much illiteracy and ignorance, the fruition in large measure of the poverty following from the Civil War, and also a certain smoldering passion among these ignorant ones. But in

the most ignorant of these is a fierce instinct for racial integrity and an equally fierce purpose to protect it against attack in any form or degree. Thinking about all of that, can any one outside of the South fairly say that the fearful things that happen there from time to time are strange. Is it not, in fact, strange that the two races live together as peaceably as they do? Given the same elements making for conflict, would any other people do better? Has any other people done better?

So much for the problem. Now as to the question that is asked outside of the South when the outrages and outbreaks occur: Where is the intelligence and character of the South? You will hardly find the answer in the newspapers. Modern newspaper standards make the story of a crime and a lynching far more valuable, measured against space, than the story of fundamental constructive work to decrease the number of such crimes and to eliminate the lynchings. But there is such work. I point your attention to the fact that punishment was meted out in a Georgia court—a State court far down in the middle of Georgia—for the “peonage farm” murders of negroes. It may be said that the punishment was not sufficiently severe. That may be said about the punishment for many another crime, not committed in the South. The fact, and it is a big and important fact, is that the neighbors of the man who ran the infamous farm convicted him on the testimony principally of negroes, and that a neighborhood judge sentenced the man to life imprisonment. I maintain that to be proof that the intelligence and character of the South is functioning—even the intelligence and character to be found among the humble, such as those who served on that jury. I point your attention also to the fact that the then Governor of Georgia threw his influence vigorously on the side of right, to the fact that the chief authorities of Georgia and the humble people of the countryside were at one in demanding punishment.

Now I want to direct your attention to the larger fact that in Atlanta, the capital city of Georgia, was the movement known as the Inter-racial Committee put under way, and that from that city has radiated a strong plan of action for co-operation among the races and mutual help. More than that, I want you to see that the white men and white women of the South who threw their influence powerfully behind that work faced squarely the shortcomings of their, the superior, race and made the performance of their duty to the weaker race a paramount consideration in the work. I ask you if there can be produced easily a finer expression, or one of more essential humility, from a superior race toward an inferior one than the “Appeal to the Christian people of the South,” issued by the gathering of Christian leaders of the South last summer in Blue Ridge, North Carolina, the gathering having been called through the influence of the Inter-racial Committee?

This is the appeal that was made to the Christian people of the South by their leaders on that occasion:

We, a group of white Christian men and women of the South, absolutely loyal to the best traditions and convictions of the South, and especially to the principle of racial integrity, voluntarily assembled upon the invitations of the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation, and after prayerful and careful consideration of prevailing inter-racial relations

and conditions, do deliberately declare it to be our profound conviction that the real responsibility for the solution of inter-racial problems in the South rests directly upon the hearts and consciences of the Christian forces of our land.

We are also persuaded that the best method by which to approach the consideration and solution of such problems is through local organizations, composed of the recognized Christian leaders of both races, organizations similar to the Christian Council formed and functioning so effectively under the inter-racial Christian leadership of Atlanta, Georgia.

It is a matter of common knowledge that grave injustices are often suffered by members of the negro race in matters of legal procedure, traveling facilities, educational facilities, the public press, domestic service, child welfare, and in other relations of life. Therefore, we venture to make the following observations and suggestions:

1. We unhesitatingly declare lynching to be a crime against the honor of our nation. We rejoice to know that many Southern governors and other Christian leaders have taken very high ground on this question and have by their attitude and action reduced the crime of lynching in their respective States. We believe the Christian people of the South are unalterably opposed to this savage practice. We therefore recommend that the pulpit, in the religious press and denominational literature, and in every other possible way the Christian forces of the South unhesitatingly and uncompromisingly condemn and oppose all mob violence, and that the voice of our united Christian effort be steadfastly raised in the defense of the sacredness of life and of law and order.

2. In the matter of legal justice, we urge our ministers and laymen throughout the South, by frequent visitation, to keep in close touch with the administration of justice in their local courts, particularly in the petit courts. In this connection we express the hope that "Legal Aid Societies" will be formed in all cities and larger towns, and that the service of competent lawyers will be enlisted by such Legal Aid Societies, to the end that the poor and the unprivileged of all races shall have justice.

3. In the matter of traveling facilities, we recognize that frequently inadequate provision is made by the railroads for negro passengers. We therefore urge that the rights of the negro race, under the laws of separation pertaining to public transportation, be strictly observed and safeguarded in the provision of adequate and equitable arrangements for the safety and comfort of travelers of the negro race. Particularly do we urge that necessary provision be made for the privacy of colored women and for their protection from possible insult.

4. In regard to the problems of sanitation and housing, we deplore the unsanitary and bad housing conditions which prevail in many sections of the South, and we call upon the Christian people of our land to co-operate actively in righting such conditions in their respective communities, for the protection of both races from possible detrimental reaction from such conditions, as well as to safeguard the health and the efficiency of the negro race in particular. Especially do we feel that rooming accommodations for those employed in domestic service should be such as to insure the maximum of moral as well as physical protection.

5. In the matter of education, we hold to the conviction that ignorance breeds disorder, vice, and crime, and that an

effectual remedy is the enlightened Christian intelligence and conscience, which can be secured by education under Christian direction and auspices. We rejoice in the worthy efforts of the several Christian denominations to provide schools of the higher grades for the training of negro ministers, doctors, teachers, etc., and we express the hope that such beneficent efforts will be enlarged and multiplied in the ever-advancing programs of the Christian forces of the South. In the matter of public and elementary schools, we urge the white Christian leadership of the South to see to it that adequate buildings and equipment are provided for the public schools of the negro race; that to this end an equitable distribution of school funds be had, and that more adequate provision be made in the public-school system for the training of negro teachers.

6. We urge the ministers of our churches to preach to and to teach their people on these vital inter-racial issues and to exhort them to an immediate and practical application of Christian principles in all of their relations with the colored race.

7. We call on all the Christian forces of our land, local and general, as individuals and as organizations, to lend their support and their co-operation to the humanitarian and Christian effort of the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation for the cultivation of a better understanding and more sympathetic and equitable relations between the races.

8. We recommend that the ministry and leaders of the local churches of both races co-operate in the promotion of local inter-racial committees for the purpose of securing better inter-racial relations, to the end that peace and justice may be observed for all.

9. We respectfully, but very earnestly, request that the several official and denominational organizations of both races in the South make a thorough and efficient study of the inter-racial situation in their respective fields, and that they formulate worthy and adequate inter-racial programs within the fields and scope of their respective denominational and educational activities by which they can all make most valuable contributions, to the end that this much-to-be-desired better understanding and spirit of co-operation be secured between the races for their mutual benefit.

Reiterating our loyalty to the best traditions and convictions of the white people of the South and our unswerving and unalterable adherence to both the principle and the practice of race integrity, we call upon our fellow-Christians of both races throughout the South to unite in a sincere and immediate effort to solve our inter-racial problems with the spirit of Christ, according to the principles of the Gospel, and for the highest interest and benefit of all concerned.

Turn now to the conference held last fall in Memphis by Southern women to consider means of advancing racial co-operation. Do not forget, as this is put before you, that of the women attending this conference at least 50 per cent probably at one time or another lived in rural Southern communities, where there is ever-present fear and guarding against one crime. These white women of the South met, invited a number of the leaders among the colored women of the South to address them, spent hours in study of the facts in the Southern situation and the various proposed means of improvement, and then gave their approval to the following as a set of constructive measures to be supported by Southern women:

1. *Domestic Service:*

We acknowledge our responsibility for the protection of the negro women and girls in our homes and on the streets. We therefore recommend:

That domestic service be recognized as an occupation, and that we seek to co-ordinate it with other world service, in order that a better relation may be established for both employer and employee.

2. *Child Welfare:*

We are persuaded that the conservation of the life and health of negro children is of the utmost importance to the community. We therefore urge:

a. That day nurseries and kindergartens be established in local communities for the protection, care, and training of children of the negro mothers who go out to work.

b. That free baby clinics be established, and that government leaflets on child welfare be distributed to expectant mothers, thus teaching the proper care of themselves and their children.

c. That adequate playgrounds and recreational facilities be established for negro children and young people.

3. *Sanitation and Housing:*

Since good housing and proper sanitation are necessary for both physical and moral life, we recommend:

That a survey of housing and sanitary conditions be made in the negro sections in each local community, followed by an appeal to the proper authorities for improvements when needed.

4. *Education:*

a. Since sacredness of personality is the basis for all civilization, we urge:

That every agency touching the child life of the nation shall strive to create mutual respect in the hearts of the children of different races.

b. We are convinced that the establishment of a single standard of morals for men and women, both black and white, is necessary for the life and safety of a nation. We therefore pledge ourselves to strive to secure respect and protection for womanhood everywhere, regardless of race or color.

c. Since provision for the education of negro children is still inadequate, we recommend:

That surveys be made of the educational situation in the local community in order that colored children may secure—

(1) More equitable division of the school fund.

(2) Suitable school buildings and equipment.

(3) Longer school terms.

(4) Higher standards and increased pay for teachers.

5. *Travel:*

Since colored people frequently do not receive fair treatment on street-cars, on railroads, and in railway stations, and recognizing this as one of the chief causes of friction between the races, we urge:

That immediate steps be taken to provide for them adequate accommodations and courteous treatment at the hands of street-car and railway officials.

6. *Lynching:*

a. As women, we urge those who are charged with the administration of the law to prevent lynchings at any cost. We are persuaded that the proper determination on the part

of the constituted officials, upheld by public sentiment, would result in the detection and prosecution of those guilty of this crime. Therefore we pledge ourselves to endeavor to create a public sentiment which will uphold these officials in the execution of justice.

7. *Justice in the Courts:*

We recommend:

That our women everywhere raise their voices against all acts of violence to property and person, wherever and for whatever cause occurring:

We further recommend:

That competent legal assistance be made available for colored people in the local communities, in order to insure to them the protection of their rights in the courts.

8. *Public Press:*

Since the public press often gives undue prominence to the criminal element among the negroes and neglects the worthy and constructive efforts of law-abiding negro citizens, we pledge ourselves to co-operate with the men's committees in endeavoring to correct this injustice and to create a fair attitude to negroes and negro news.

Similar evidences of the application of Southern intelligence and character to the handling and, it is hoped, the ultimate solution of the greatest social problem of the modern day could be given at length, but the space at my disposal will not permit, nor is it necessary. Those who may want additional evidence may turn to the Law and Order League in Tennessee, in which effective work has been done against lynchings; or they may examine the records in States like Maryland and Virginia, in parts of which there are great negro populations. The South is facing and grappling with its problem—making mistakes now and then, falling short too often—but facing and fighting the problem, taken as a whole.

FROM THE INSIDE OF FRANCE

By A FRENCH ANTI-MILITARIST

The article below, written before the reparations settlement, is a translation of correspondence from one of the champions of peace within the borders of France, called lately by some "the most militaristic nation." It will help those who read it to a new understanding not only of the political trials and difficulties of the French, but of the strain on their spiritual forces.—THE EDITOR.

OUR SITUATION does not improve. On the contrary, it is more complicated. To whatever side we turn, our friends seem to take a malicious pleasure in embarrassing the situation. First, it is the English; then the Poles; then the Italians; always some one to put a spoke in the wheels. As for Germany, her government flatly refuses to pay, or when that government is replaced by one more reasonable, it is powerless to produce results, and in spite of promises nothing has been forthcoming, and we French are in the impossible situation of trying to pay our debts from a hopelessly depleted treasury. If we speak of taking pledges, if we speak of occupying the Ruhr, the English oppose it, the Italians also, and the Belgians interpose in a friendly way, urging us to accept the advice of our Allies. Our credits have just